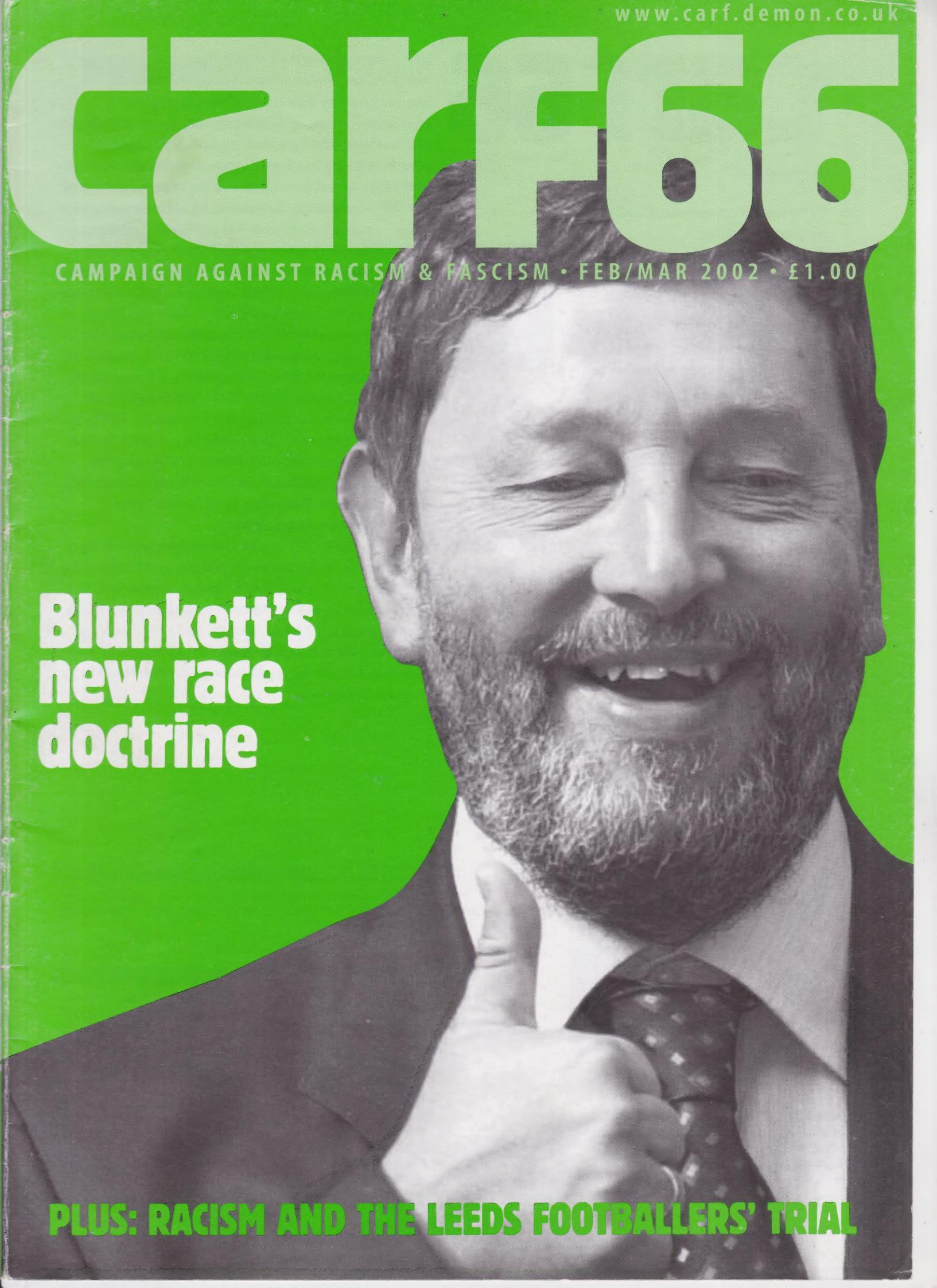


carf66

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**Blunkett's
new race
doctrine**

PLUS: RACISM AND THE LEEDS FOOTBALLERS' TRIAL

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Cover picture: Toby Melville/PA

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note to readers

The world is a very different place since September 11. International events are shaping domestic racism, changing the relationship between governments and citizens and, in the process, throwing up a myriad of protest movements that come to the fight against racism from a variety of perspectives. How can CARF – increasingly the magazine of not one movement but many – ensure its relevance to anti-racists and civil libertarians, asylum rights campaigners and Third World support groups, peace activists and anti-globalisation protestors? From the next issue of the magazine, CARF will be changing its format in order to bring you a sharper, more focused product – less a news service and more of a forum for in-depth analyses and new perspectives on the issues that must unite us all, whatever our political background, as we enter a new era of global racism.

That is not to say that CARF is jettisoning its news gathering role. On the contrary, from February, we shall be inputting CARF's news and campaigning reports to the On-line Anti-Racist News Service which is being developed by the Institute of Race Relations to provide community groups with online news stories that are not being covered by the mainstream. (www.irr.org.uk/news)

In urging CARF readers to make full use of this (free) on-line service, we ask you also to continue to subscribe to the print version of the magazine. We want to continue to do the things that we do well – epitomised by the lead article in this issue on government race strategies – and to do them even better. Over the next year, the Collective will bring CARF readers four (as opposed to six) special issues, each of which will focus on a topical debate. ■

Thanks very much

The CARF collective would like to thank the anonymous winner of a Christmas Party raffle who sent the proceeds to CARF. Thank you very much – it all helps. ■

Climbié family launch campaign



The Climbié family, whose daughter Victoria was a victim of child abuse, and is now the subject of a major public inquiry into child protection, have launched a family campaign. They hope to put pressure on the various institutions involved to make sure the mistakes made in Victoria's case cannot be repeated. They also hope to raise funds to build schools in Ivory Coast in honour of Victoria. ■

Victoria Climbié Family Campaign, PO Box 184, Southall UB1 1WR. Email: info@victoriaadjoimbié.org.uk. Bank account donations to: HSBC Bank, 1 Regina Road, Southall, Middlesex. Sort Code: 40-42-13, Account Number: 51401203.

community cohesion...



Blunkett's new race doctrine

David Blunkett's proposal of an oath of allegiance for immigrants marks a new era in British racism

THE official response to the summer 2001 riots is now taking shape. December saw the publication of the Cantle report – which defines the government's strategy for maintaining order in the northern towns. At the same time, Blunkett announced that the government was considering an oath of allegiance for immigrants and that English language tests would be introduced. We were told that practices such as forced marriage and genital mutilation had been allowed to continue because of an over-emphasis on 'cultural difference' and 'moral relativism'. Blunkett wanted a new framework of core values, which would set limits to the laissez-faire pluralism of the past. The *Mail* and the *Telegraph* had, it seemed, found their great white knight to slay the demon political correctness.

Of course, each of Blunkett's proposals, when taken individually and out of its political context, was eminently reasonable. Of course cultural difference cannot be used to legitimise oppression of women. Of course knowledge of English language is a factor in social inclusion. And yes, migrant communities cannot live in the same way as they did decades ago, in countries of their origin. But in the context of responding to riots, which had sprung from the police's failure to protect Asian communities from racist violence, Blunkett's comments seemed to be a case of 'blame the victim', rather than an attempt to deal with the real issues. And how could lack of ability in the English language be a factor

in causing the riots when the participants were born and bred here? Blunkett argued that if their first generation mothers could not speak English, then this might have in some way contributed to deprivation in the second generation. But it was a highly tenuous link. Wasn't Blunkett just appeasing racism? Worse, Blunkett was attempting to use immigration policy as a way of disciplining black communities, thereby explicitly reconnecting the issues of race and immigration – something that no leading Labour politician had done in at least thirty years.

But the Cantle report and Blunkett's provocative comments were more than just regression. They also signalled that, from the state's point of view, the 'multiculturalist settlement', which has dominated race relations thinking in Britain for two decades, is no longer working. The riots of summer 2001 were a wake-up call. And events since September 11 have sounded the death knell for multiculturalist policies. The establishment needs a revised strategy to manage and preserve a racially divided society, as



'Those who were born and grew up here wanted to remake society, not just be tolerated within it.'

effectively as 'multiculturalism' did in an earlier time. The old multiculturalist formula of 'celebrating difference' – itself a response to the riots of the early 1980s – is to be replaced. The new strategy is 'community cohesion' and the Cantle report is its blueprint.

British multiculturalism

'Britain is a multicultural society' – the phrase is bandied about religiously, but the meaning is rarely examined. The whole panoply of multiculturalist clichés – black communities are always 'vibrant', always making 'positive contributions', always to be 'tolerated' – serves more to obscure than to clarify. These glib pronouncements are now reaching the end of their useful life.

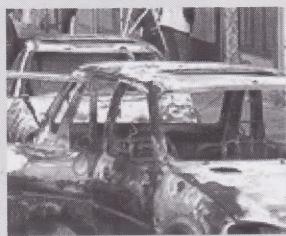
From an anti-racist perspective, multiculturalism was always a double-edged sword. At times, it was an effective riposte to the anti-immigrant politics of Powellism, challenging the myth of an ethnically pure society. Against this New Right popular racism, multiculturalism stood for demanding the very survival of non-white

communities on these islands. But as the politics of black communities radicalised, mere survival in Britain was not enough. Those who were born and grew up here wanted to remake society, not just be tolerated within it. The uprisings of the early 1980s were the most obvious expression of this shift. And at this point, multiculturalism changed from a line of defence to a mode of control.

Multiculturalism now meant taking black culture off the streets – where it had been politicised and turned into a rebellion against the state – and putting it in the council chamber, in the classroom and on the television, where it could be institutionalised, managed and reified. Black culture was thus turned from a living movement into an object of passive contemplation, something to be 'celebrated' rather than acted on. Multiculturalism became an ideology of conservatism, of preserving the status quo intact, in the face of a real desire to move forward. As post-modern theories of 'hybridity' became popular in academia, cultural difference came to be seen as an end in itself, rather than an expression of revolt, and the concept of culture became a straitjacket, hindering rather than helping the fight against race and class oppressions.

CANTLE REPORT FOR HOME OFFICE

- Segregation of communities has led to ignorance and fear
- Need to promote 'community cohesion' through greater contact between different cultures
- Need a national debate to establish a set of common responsibilities defining British citizenship
- All citizens should sign up to a statement of allegiance to Britain
- All citizens to be required to learn English
- Schools to avoid admitting more than 75% of pupils from one ethnic background
- Diversity training and ethnic recruitment to be increased in all key agencies, such as police forces



- Funding and grants to be focused on 'thematic' rather than area or ethnic needs
- White communities to develop community leadership capacities in the same way as black communities

www.homeoffice.gov.uk

OLDHAM INDEPENDENT REVIEW REPORT

- 'On the whole, the policing of the town has been carried out honourably'
- Police to adopt more 'effective communications strategy'
- Slum clearance programme to create racially mixed schemes of private and social housing
- Community centres to be open to all rather than just one ethnic group
- Employment discrimination against Asians needs to be tackled

www.oldhamir.org.uk

BURNLEY INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORT

- Riots began as a drugs war between white and Asian gangs
- Tension was exploited by organised racists
- Poverty, bad housing and deeply entrenched racist views fuelled trouble

www.burnleytaskforce.org.uk

Ethnic fiefdoms

While multiculturalist policies institutionalised black culture, it was the practice of ethnicised funding that segmented and divided black communities. The state's strategy, it seemed, was to re-form black communities to fit them into the British class system, as a parallel society with their own internal class leadership, which could be relied on to maintain control. A new class of 'ethnic representatives' entered the town halls from the mid-1980s onwards, who would be the surrogate voice for their own ethnically defined fiefdoms. They entered into a pact with the authorities; they were to cover up and gloss over black community resistance in return for free rein in preserving their own patriarchy. It was a colonial arrangement, which prevented community leaders from making radical criticisms, for fear that funding for their pet projects would be jeopardised. Different ethnic groups were pressed into competing for grants for their areas. The result was that black communities became fragmented, horizontally by ethnicity, vertically by class.

Worst of all, the problem of racism came to be redefined in terms of cultural protectionism, and the cultural development of Asian communities in particular, was stunted. They were allotted their own parallel cultural bloc, where Asian leaders were allowed a cultural 'laissez faire', largely free from state intervention. The community leadership tried to insulate their clans from the wider world, which they saw only as a threat to the patriarchal system on which their power depended. The cost to Asian communities was huge, measured not only in political subjugation, but also in cultural stagnation.

This state of affairs meant that Asians lived a double life, forced to wear one face within their community and a different one outside. Ethnicity was recognised in the family and in the community, but banished in the public spheres of school, work and politics. As multiculturalism matured, the political ambitions of Asians focused on challenging this public/private division by winning cultural rights in the public sphere. But the culture being fought for was largely defined in terms of

'Worst of all, the problem of racism came to be redefined in terms of cultural protectionism, and the cultural development of Asian communities in particular, was stunted.'

a fixed identity, unchanged in its transmission from 1960s South Asia to 1990s Britain.

The crisis in multiculturalist policy

In the event, the political energies of black communities were diverted onto the terrain of cultural rights, while the Right continued its attacks on 'political correctness'. The state stumbled along, balancing the demands of the two groups while allowing the underlying structure of the 'parallel cultural blocs' model to remain intact. Some on the Left, especially those associated with *Race & Class* and CARF, had, early on, identified multiculturalism as a danger to anti-racism – as the fight against racism, in Sivanandan's words, was being transformed into a fight for culture. But these voices were drowned by the rising tide of identity politics.

Now, the multiculturalist 'settlement' is in crisis. First, the successful campaign by the Lawrence family, to recognise the existence of institutional racism in the police force, showed how the terms of debate could be changed from cultural recognition to state racism. Second, since 1997, a government that is explicitly 'multicultural' has also launched a frightening attack on asylum seekers. Multiculturalism, it transpires, is perfectly compatible with anti-immigrant populism. Third, and most important, among Asians, culture is no longer a cage within which opposition can be effectively contained.

Until recently, Asian culture connoted passivity, entrepreneurship, hard work and education. Asians were the 'model minority'. Pundits predicted that they faced a 'Jewish future', that is, increasing economic success combined with cultural conservatism. But that has not happened, except for small numbers. Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities, especially, remain mired in poverty. And the rebelliousness normally associated with white and African-Caribbean youths has infused working-class Asians. Their old image of passivity has given way to one of aggression and criminality, an image seemingly confirmed by the summer riots, and then heightened by the 'war on terrorism'. The columnists of the *Mail* and the Asian bourgeois intellectuals (such as Tariq Modood) are now united in their fear that Asian youths have been infected by white working-class 'laddishness', and that they are no longer reliably well-behaved.

Worse, the propping up of a conservative minority culture is no longer a viable option for the state. Rather than being an effective way of integrating communities, cultural identity, particularly Muslim identities, now seem dangerous. The 1980s solution to riots – a higher dose of 'culture' – now appears to make the problem worse. Whereas before, black youths were assumed to be rioting because of a lack of culture (what was referred to as an 'ethnic disadvantage'), now youths were rioting because of an excess of culture – they were too Muslim, too traditional. For the state, the laissez-faire allowances of before had to be ended and cultural difference held on a tighter rein. The 'parallel cultural bloc' was now seen as part of the problem, not the solution.

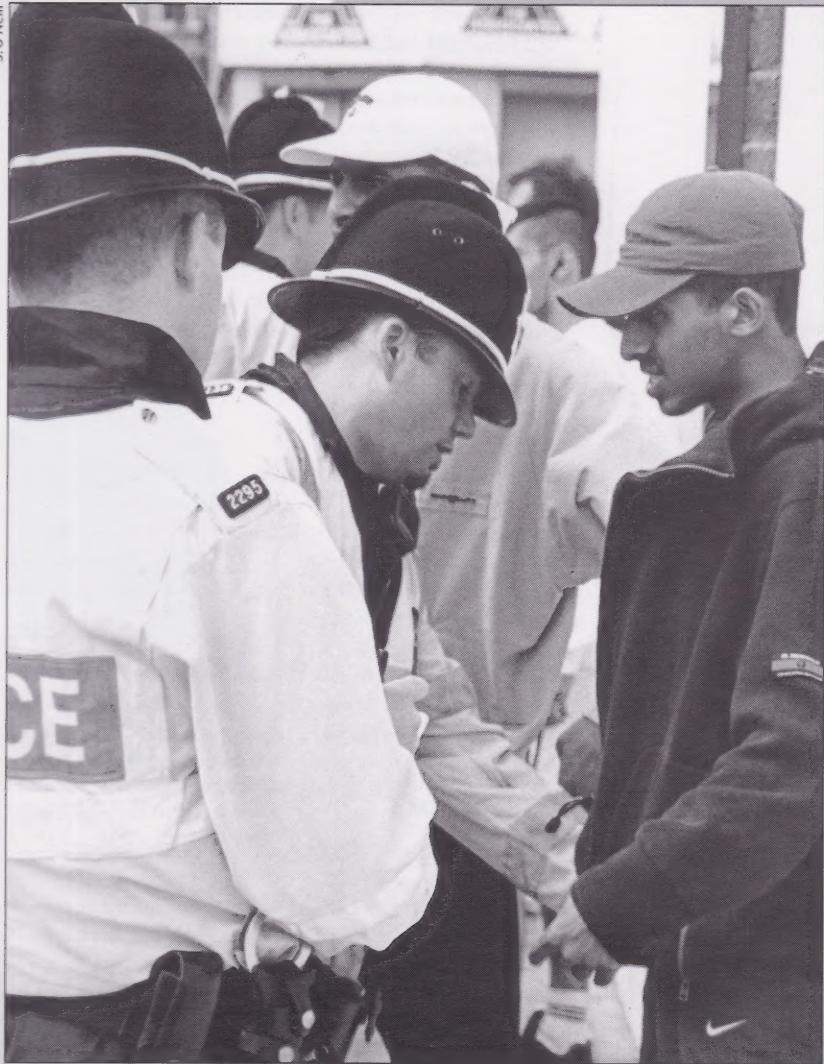
'Self-segregation'

The Cantle report is the government's new race manifesto. It provides a new formula, in which the separate cultural development that had been encouraged for decades, is to be subsumed to the demands of 'community cohesion'. A core set of values is to set limits to multiculturalism and black people are required to develop 'a greater acceptance of the principal national institutions'. Racism itself is to be understood as an outcome of cultural segregation, not its cause. And segregation is now seen as self-imposed.

The ultimate problem is identified as 'cultural barriers', rather than institutional racism or deprivation. The landmark recognition of institutional racism in the Macpherson Report is diluted. The racism of Oldham police, which led up to the riots, is played down. It seems that Greater Manchester Police, which was declared institutionally racist by its own chief constable in 1999, is now no longer a part of the problem. Instead the same measures that have been proposed for the last twenty years – diversity training and ethnic headcounts – are once again wheeled out.

According to the Cantle report, it is not so much institutions as attitudes that are the focus of change. Like its conceptual cousin, 'social exclusion', 'community cohesion' is about networks, identity and discourse, rather than poverty, inequality and power. By implication the 'political correctness gone mad' argument finds official endorsement – cultural barriers have, apparently, been left to fester, leading to a refusal to engage in open debate.

On a local level, the new solutions are as banal as the analysis: cross-cultural contact, inter-faith dialogue,



twinning of schools, fostering understanding and respect. Not so much celebrating diversity as kissing-and-making-up; reconciliation without remedy. The report laments the decline of civic pride but offers these towns nothing to take pride in – no hope of economic development or revival of local democracy, just more 'neighbourliness'.

On a national level, a new 'Community Cohesion Task Force' has been set up and Blunkett has initiated a 'national debate' by suggesting that immigrants take an 'oath of allegiance' to the British state and adopt British norms. The debate is meant to clarify the rights and responsibilities of a British citizen. But nobody seems to know what these are. In addition, the forthcoming white paper on Nationality and Immigration is expected to place extra requirements on immigrants for English language skills, and what is effectively a new policing measure – ID cards – will most probably be dressed up as a 'citizenship card' to fit in to the new cohesion agenda.

Competing claims

Already there are contradictions being thrown up between the old and new models, most notably in Islam's relationship with Britishness. By the logic of the multiculturalist consensus, faith schools were to be encouraged and, under Blair, won government support. Encouraging a Muslim identity in schools was seen as likely to produce responsible, respectable citizens. But from the new perspective of community cohesion, Muslim schools are a dangerous breeding ground for separatism. The government has yet to resolve such competing claims. Similarly, the question of Imams in prisons: earlier they were seen as an effective way of bringing wayward Muslim youths back into the community; now they are dangerous ideologues indoctrinating anti-Western values.

The cohesion strategy can also be seen as part of a wider anxiety in government about Britain's Muslim population. This first became evident a few years ago when Home Office crime research started to focus increasingly on young Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, as potential criminal groups. Then in last year's census, a question on religious belief was included for the first time, a move widely thought to reflect the need to measure the size of the Muslim population. Following September 11, British Muslims have been criminalised further, with racial profiling in policing becoming acceptable as part of anti-terrorist operations.

Opportunity for anti-racists

The far Right has received a boost following Blunkett's December speech. Ray Honeyford – the old Bradford head teacher who had tried to make a heroic right-wing stand against multiculturalism in the 1980s – came out of the woodwork, to claim that he had been vindicated after all these years. And indeed many of his old arguments echo through the official government line of today. Likewise British National Party leader Nick Griffin argued that the self-segregation line had been stolen from him (a view which credits him with too much originality).

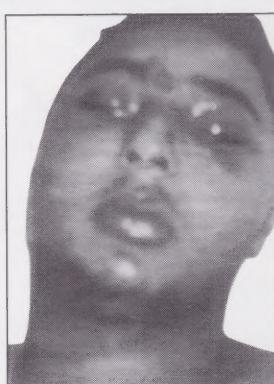
But the fact that the old multiculturalist settlement has been unhinged can only be a good thing for anti-racists, as it leaves the way open for a revival of the left-wing critique of multiculturalism begun in CARF twenty years ago. ■

'We did'

CARF spoke to Muhammad Najeib about the attack on his two sons, racism and Leeds United

Each weekday morning, Muhammad Najeib would walk the gauntlet of television cameras and photographers outside Hull crown court. First, for eight weeks in January and February 2001 attending a trial that would come to nothing, and then again from October to December for the retrial. Once inside he would stand and wait in the court lobby for the day's proceedings to begin, while the four men accused of the attack on his two sons milled around chatting casually, and occasionally exchanging a joke with their thousands-of-pounds-a-day barristers. Autograph hunters, well-wishers and Leeds United fans would approach the footballers every now and then and give them a pat on the back.

It was a world away from the scene outside the Majestyk night club in Leeds city centre on the night of 11 January 2000, when the vicious attack took place. England under-21 footballer, Jonathan Woodgate, had been drinking in the club with Neale Caveney, Paul Clifford and James Hewison, pals from his home town of Middlesbrough. Lee Bowyer had also joined them. At around half-past twelve, Sarfraz Najeib, then 19, and his brother Shahzad, a year older, found themselves caught up in a mêlée as they left the Majestyk. The details of what happened remain unclear but, at some point, Sarfraz remembers being told 'do you want some, Paki?'; before he was hit on the back of the head. He threw one punch back at his attacker before running with his friends down Boar Lane.



Sarfraz lies seriously ill in hospital. The injuries to his face left him barely recognisable.

Frenzied attack

A group of around five or six white men – which a jury later decided included Woodgate, Clifford and Caveney – chased after Sarfraz and his friends. Witnesses described a group of men first tripping Sarfraz and then kicking and punching him, continuing even after he was beaten unconscious. One man, almost certainly Clifford, a former junior boxing champion, bent down and bit into the side of Sarfraz'

n't get justice'



'If he had been white I don't think these people would have chased him in the first place and, if they had chased him, they wouldn't have beaten him up so badly.'

Muhammad Najeib

head. Another man was seen to jump up with both feet in the air and then land with force on Sarfraz' body. Meanwhile Shahzad had seen the attack on his brother and sought to intervene, but was punched twice by one of the mob surrounding Sarfraz and then kicked in the chest. By the time the attacks ended, Sarfraz was left lying motionless in a pool of blood. Shahzad believed he had just witnessed his brother's murder.

Horrible injuries

When Muhammad Najeib arrived at Leeds Infirmary and saw his son, Sarfraz, the injuries were so horrific that he had to walk out of the ward. Sarfraz had a broken left leg, three fractures to his nose, one to his cheekbone, severe bruising and swelling to the right side of his face and his left eye, as well as cuts to his head, one of which required twelve stitches.

On one side of his face there was a huge bite mark and on his cheek was the imprint of a heel. 'I knew it was him but I wouldn't have recognised him. He was very severely beaten. I couldn't keep looking at him. I had to look away and I broke down.'

It was only when, a week later, police arrested Lee Bowyer and Jonathan Woodgate, that it was confirmed to the Najeib family that Leeds football stars were involved. Reporters were now camped outside their home, adding to the family's problems. 'I was frightened,' recalls Muhammad. 'I was under a lot of stress anyway and had a lot of worry about Sarfraz's health. On top of this I had the journalists to cope with. I did not want to face them.' The family contacted the National Civil Rights Movement (NCRM) for assistance.

Racial attack?

At around the same time, a new investigating team was brought in, under Detective Inspector Helmsley. The new team investigated the incident as an assault with at least a partial racial motive and, to this day, Helmsley continues to believe that racism was a factor (see p9). NCRM believes that, though a white student could equally have been on the receiving end of a punch, the brutality of the joint attack on Sarfraz can only be explained with reference to his skin colour. This is a view shared by the family. Muhammad Najeib feels that because Sarfraz is Asian, he 'was chased and then brought down to the ground and kicked and punched and beaten. If he had been white I don't think these people would have chased him in the first place and, if they had chased him, they wouldn't have beaten him up so badly.'

When the case came to trial in January 2001, Lee Bowyer, Neale Caveney, Paul Clifford and Jonathan Woodgate all faced charges of grievous bodily harm with intent (which carries a possible life sentence), affray and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice. Fellow Leeds United player Tony Hackworth also faced charges for the attack but these were later thrown out by the judge. And team-mate Michael Duberry was acquitted by the jury of his alleged role in helping conceal evidence; in the retrial he became a prosecution witness.

In a case that inevitably attracted overwhelming media interest, the first trial was halted after the jury had been out for a week, when the *Sunday Mirror* printed an article that was considered prejudicial. A retrial was ordered for October, prolonging the family's quest for justice. Eventually, in December 2001, Clifford was found guilty of GBH with intent and affray and sentenced to six years, while Woodgate and Caveney were found guilty of affray and each received one hundred hours of community service. Bowyer was acquitted.

Bowyer's acquittal and Woodgate and Caveney's



PAUL CLIFFORD
6 years for GBH with intent and affray



NEALE CAVENEY
100 hours community service for affray



JONATHAN WOODGATE
100 hours community service for affray



LEE BOWYER
Cleared of GBH with intent and affray

'If I had had even a small inkling that something like this might happen, I would not be in this country. I would have gone back to Pakistan.'

measly sentence stunned the family, who believe they did not get justice. In sentencing, the judge, Mr Justice Henriques, even told Woodgate that he could see the suffering he had experienced during the trial 'etched on his face'.

The club's response

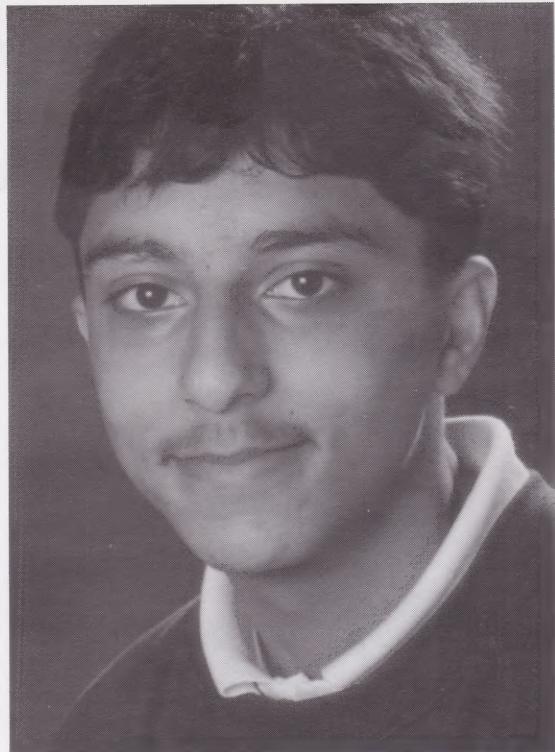
Although the family received many letters of sympathy from Leeds United supporters, Muhammad Najeib is disappointed that the club itself made no contact with the family. 'If they were anti-racist, I am sure they would have sent me a letter of commiseration or something to say they are sorry about the incident.' He believes that Leeds should have followed the FA's example of withdrawing the players from the England squad. The failure to do this – for obvious commercial reasons – created a scenario wherein Lee Bowyer made regular appearances for Leeds United right through both trials, even having a car waiting outside Hull crown court to whisk him away to Elland Road for mid-week Champions' League fixtures. And sports journalists commend Bowyer's ability to perform well despite his 'difficult' time in court. Not only did this add to the distress of the Najeib family, but it also risked prejudicing the jury in Bowyer's favour.

Family traumatised

In the two years since the attack, the family have struggled to deal with the tragedy and return to something approaching normal life. The verdicts delivered in December make that even more difficult. The Najeibs now intend to mount a private prosecution against Leeds United Football Club and also civil actions against Jonathan Woodgate, Lee Bowyer, Tony Hackworth, Neale Caveney and Paul Clifford.

Sarfraz continues to have operations on his nose and finds it difficult to walk for more than a quarter of an hour or climb stairs without pain. He has attempted to continue his computer studies course but has had to move to a different university to avoid returning to Leeds. 'We are still traumatised,' says Muhammad. 'It is going to take a long time to get over this. We are still reliving that day every moment of our lives.'

The family have also received threatening telephone calls and letters. Groups of skinheads visited their shop and threatened to blow it up unless the case against the Leeds players were dropped. 'It is really frightening. We are always looking over our shoulders. As soon as any member of the family goes out, we are worried that

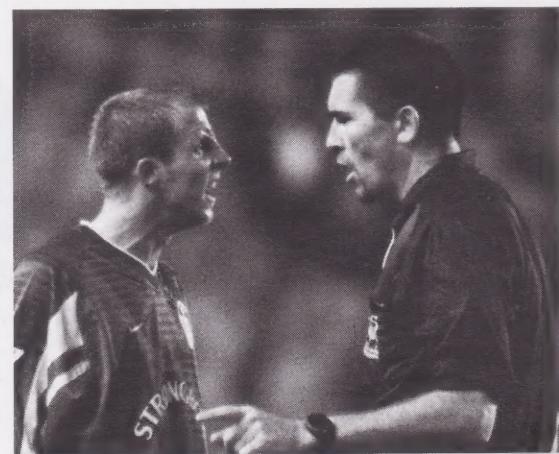


Family photo of Sarfraz Najeib as a teenager

they may not come home safe.' The police take seriously the threats to the family and have mounted night vision CCTV cameras to the front of the family home.

History repeated

For the Najeib family, the attack has forced them to reassess their whole relationship with this country. Sarfraz has said that, whereas before he felt at home here, the country of his birth, since the attack he can no longer feel British. For his father Muhammad, the attack took him back to his own experiences of racism as a youth. Thirty years ago he himself was the victim of a racist assault by a gang of skinheads who kicked and punched him unconscious as he left school. But for someone else intervening, he might have been killed. He never expected that the same experience would be visited on his own children. 'I never believed for a moment that this could ever happen to my family. If I had had even a small inkling that something like this might happen, I would not be in this country. I would have gone back to Pakistan.' ■



As CARF goes to press, Lee Bowyer (shown left being sent off in August 2001 against Arsenal) looks set to join the England World Cup Squad in Japan/South Korea. And, despite his conviction, Jonathan Woodgate's star status remains intact, as he signs autographs for fans in January of this year at Newcastle (see right).

Why was racism not mentioned?

The Leeds footballers' trial illustrates the difficulties campaigners now face in organising an explicitly anti-racist campaign around a trial.

The attack on Sarfraz Najeib was investigated by the police as a racially motivated crime. When the case came to court, however, the judge told the jury that racism played no part. After the verdicts were finally delivered, the victim made it clear that he believed race was a partial motive, that he was racially abused prior to the attack and that he was prevented from giving this evidence in court. Once again, we are left feeling that another victim of racism has not seen justice done. The Macpherson report was meant to put an end to this kind of pussyfooting around race crimes but we seem to be in as deep a mess as ever.

Prosecuting racism

The problem arises because Macpherson's recommendation – that the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) ought to have a strong duty to bring any evidence of racial motivation to court – has not been implemented. The government has instead relied on the new set of 'racially aggravated' charges in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act.

These charges are unusual in that the definition of the charge incorporates the motivation for the action, rather than just the action itself. Therefore, not just the act, but the motivation for the act, needs to be proven. This is fraught with difficulties and may make it more difficult to prosecute race crimes (see CARF 61 and 63). Given that the CPS also has a duty to only bring charges to court that have a greater than fifty percent chance of success, there will be cases where the CPS believes evidence of racism exists but not enough to reach this threshold. But, once racism is codified into a charge, rather than just being a motive for other charges, it becomes a question of all or nothing: either bring a charge or don't mention race.

Missing pieces

The problem then is in cases where race is a partial motivation but this cannot be mentioned. This handicaps the CPS in bringing any charges at all, because in building up a picture of the crime for the jury, there will always be a piece of the jigsaw missing. Such was the problem in the Leeds footballers' trial. Given that the CPS could not charge the defendants with racism, the judge ordered that the race issue be removed from the trial altogether. When in the witness box, Sarfraz Najeib was asked not to mention the racist language used against him, even though, for him, it was at the heart of his experience of the crime.

But without mentioning racism as a possible motivation, it must have been difficult for the jury to understand why Sarfraz would have been so viciously

attacked. Perhaps they even speculated about whether Sarfraz had provoked the attack in some way. At the end of the presentation of evidence in the first trial, a juror passed a note to the judge in which he asked why no Asians had been charged and whether there was positive discrimination in favour of Asians in this case. Having been given only part of the jigsaw puzzle, the missing pieces were being invented, out of the fantasy of 'reverse racism'. The judge refused to dismiss the jury member.

A related problem is that the defendant has the possibility of claiming that the trial has been prejudiced by campaigners or the police, either of whom might have publicly stated before the trial that they believe the case to be racially motivated. Indeed Lee Bowyer's barrister attempted such a defence in pre-trial arguments, although in this case it was successfully refuted by campaigners for the Najeib family.

Nationalist appeals

Furthermore, while the prosecution were forced to tiptoe carefully around any mention of race, the defence were allowed to appeal, in a barely concealed way, to nationalist attitudes. During the first trial, Jonathan Woodgate's barrister, David Sumner, began his summing-up to the all-white jury with the comment 'I am an English barrister, not a foreign lackey' and went on to make references to 'pale-skinned infantrymen' being sent to fight 'Chinese communists'. He added 'I choose my words carefully because of political correctness'. (Later, Sumner approached an Asian NCRM member in a car park outside the court, believed him to be a member of the Najeib family, and told him 'I just want you to know that I do a job of work. It's nothing personal'.)

Desmond de Silva QC defended Bowyer using similar tactics. He invited the jury to 'think of England' when considering the verdict, after telling them that Bowyer's ambition was to score the winning goal for his country in the world cup final. Such tactics would have been considered unacceptable in a race hate case, but went uncommented on in this trial.

Danger for campaigners

For campaigners the trial raises a serious issue, because it may now be too risky to organise any kind of explicitly anti-racist campaign before or during the trial of a race violence case where no racially aggravated charges are brought, because to do so would be to give the defendant an opportunity to claim the trial was being prejudiced. Worse still, the sifting of race into separate charges, and the ban on mentioning race as a motivation where it isn't charged, has infected cases where racist charges can't even be brought. Thus, although the English legal system doesn't allow racially aggravated charges in murder cases, there is still a danger that no murder can now be described as racist until after a conviction. ■

'Sarfraz remembers being told "do you want some, Paki?", before he was hit on the back of the head.'

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The government's latest drive to expel failed asylum seekers exposes the hollowness of its pretence to uphold human rights

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Over the Christmas break, while MPs rested at home with their families and law offices closed, the government was busy taking steps to 'improve' the asylum system. A little noticed amendment to the asylum procedure rules was 'laid' before an empty parliament in late December, and came into force on 7 January. It allows failed asylum seekers to be notified by immigration officers that their appeal has been dismissed, instead of receiving the notice from the court. While a notice of a decision from a court gave an opportunity to consult lawyers, to challenge the decision by way of an application for judicial review, to launch a campaign to prevent their removal, or at least to prepare mentally for the possibility of return home, a notice presented by an immigration officer gives no such opportunity. For the immigration officer can – and in most cases will – detain the failed asylum seeker there and then for removal.

The change in the rules is part of the crackdown on failed asylum seekers being implemented by David Blunkett. Other elements in the drive include further massive expansion in detention places, and the training of more and more immigration officers to act as immigration police, so reducing reliance on police in deportations and allowing many more arrests, detentions and removals to take place.

Detention

Labour's manifesto commitment promised firmer and fairer immigration controls. An increase in the number of places in detention centres was always part of this plan. But the explanation given by Blunkett's predecessor as home secretary, Jack Straw, was not that the Labour govern-

ment intended to lock up twice as many asylum seekers as the Tories, but that they would stop asylum seekers' detention in prisons – a practice condemned as against international law on the treatment of refugees by

international watchdogs such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and by HM inspectors of prisons Sir Stephen Tumim and his successor Sir David Ramsbotham.

Instead, the number of asylum seekers held in detention doubled between 1997 and 2001, with over half of them still in prisons in late 2001. There, immigration detainees

If Blunkett has his way, the number of detention places will have more than quadrupled since 1997, allowing the detention of over 50,000 people a year

knock the door

get the worst of both worlds – they are treated in some respects like criminal prisoners but don't have any of their privileges, such as unrestricted access to lawyers. Fifty detainees who went on hunger strike in HMP Walton in Liverpool in the summer of 2001 claimed they were insulted, spat on, given inedible and time-expired food and sedated for control purposes. Language and diet problems and racist abuse from prisoners and warders compound the normal problems of detention, isolation and fear of forced return, often leading to despair, mental breakdown and suicide attempts.

The government claims that it has now moved all, or virtually all, asylum seekers out of prisons into the more relaxed regime of detention centres. But in some cases, this has been achieved merely by changing the name of the establishment. Thus, HMP Haslar, which was a prison holding immigration detainees, was renamed a detention centre in January 2002, although prison officers continue to work there.

Paper reform masks a lack of real change in conditions.

One detainee who tried to expose conditions in prisons was Cameroonian asylum seeker Gabriel Nkwelle. He wrote a series of letters from prisons describing the casual brutality of life inside, and the despair it engendered. His letters, first published in CARF, were later published in a number of newspapers, including the *Independent on Sunday*. But instead of opening a dialogue, the letters led to his transfer – first from Rochester to Haslar; then, when he wrote about Haslar, to Belmarsh, the high security prison where those believed dangerous are kept.

Detention, Nkwelle wrote from inside, is used by the immigration service to put pressure on asylum seekers to give up and go home. The worst part is not knowing why and for how long you're detained. At least criminal defendants know what they're in for and roughly how long it'll be for – and if they're convicted, they know to the day when they'll be released. Criminal defendants, too, have been put there by a court: the police can't hold anyone (except terrorist suspects) for longer than four days without bringing them before a magistrate to get authorisation for continued detention. By contrast, immigration detainees – whether detained in prisons or in detention centres – never have to be brought before a court for their detention to be authorised. Immigration officers decide who they want to detain, for their own reasons. In 1993, Zairean asylum seeker Kimpua Nsimba was found hanging in the toilets at Harmondsworth detention centre five days after his arrival in Britain; he had been detained because he spoke a dialect unfamiliar to the immigration officer, and had had no communication with anyone during his entire detention.

The Human Rights Act 1998, trumpeted by the government as evidence of its commitment to human rights, brought the provisions of the European Human Rights Convention into force in British law. This says that everyone who is detained must be brought promptly before a court and that reasons must be given for detention. In the context of immigration, detention may be used only to prevent unlawful entry or for deportation. Part 3 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 was supposed to implement these rights in practice. It provides for a statutory right to bail, with specified exceptions, for immigration detainees, like the right to bail enjoyed by criminal suspects. It also provides a system of routine bail hearings for every detainee.

There is evidence that more force is being used in detaining people for removal



Detainees at
Campsfield detention centre



the knock on the door

in extremis

two accounts from the current regime

FRIGHTENED TO DEATH

Joseph Crensil, thought to be Ghanaian, died in November 2001 after falling from the third floor window ledge of a flat in Streatham. Two immigration officers and two police officers had called at the flat to question someone about the use of a false passport. They were questioning five other men at the flat when Joseph, who was in the bathroom at the time, tried to escape. Paramedics attempted to resuscitate him but he was declared dead at Kings College hospital. The Met's Directorate of Professional Standards and the PCA are investigating the death.

CATCH 22

MS, a Kosovan, had to leave university in Pristina in late 1997, a week into his course, after his arrest and beating by Serbian police because of his student union activities. He fled to Britain and claimed asylum. He should have been granted refugee status there and then, but instead the Home Office sat on his application for three years, and then refused it on the grounds that Kosovo was by then safe. In the meantime, while waiting for the claim to be decided, he had started a degree course in a British university. His asylum appeal was turned down late last year. In early January 2002, with five months of the course left, and with glowing testimonials from his tutors, he was detained for removal the day before an important examination, and the Home Office says he must go home and get a student visa in order to continue his studies – although student visas are not obtainable in Kosovo. ■

With MPs away at Christmas, immigration officers tried to deport a number of (black) Zimbabweans despite the warnings of UNHCR that no one should be returned to Zimbabwe at present

Rights not implemented

Part 3 of the 1999 Act is the only part of the Act which has never been implemented. There is still no statutory right to bail. Although detainees can apply for bail after a week in detention, in practice they can only do so if they have access to a lawyer, perhaps an interpreter and usually two sureties willing to stand £1,000 each. Although immigration detainees now have a right to be given reasons for their detention, the reasons are often very vague, such as 'you have been detained to prevent your unlawful entry', without specifying why detention is believed necessary.

When, in October 2001, a High Court judge ruled that the detention of certain nationalities of newly arrived asylum seekers at Oakington detention centre was unlawful because they were detained merely for administrative convenience and not because of a belief that they might abscond, Blunkett threw a tantrum, accusing 'fat-cat lawyers' of gloating over the destruction of his asylum system. He said the whole system would break down unless he had the power to lock up asylum seekers while processing their claims. The following month, the Court of Appeal allowed his appeal, ruling that the detention of people who had no intention of entering Britain unlawfully was 'detention to prevent unlawful entry' and so permitted by the Human Rights Convention.

Blunkett is, like his predecessor, trying to shift the pattern of detention of asylum seekers from long-term detention of comparatively few, often in prisons, often for years, to short-term detention of many if not most asylum seekers, mostly in detention centres, at the beginning and the end of the asylum process. If Blunkett has his way, the number of detention places will have more than quadrupled since Labour came to power in 1997, allowing the detention of over 50,000 people a year (on an average length of detention of four weeks).

Removals

The purpose of detention is deterrence. It's part of the policy of exclusion, rejection and expulsion in which the removal of as many as possible remains the dominant policy objective, regardless of the risks faced or the circumstances of the asylum seeker. This was brought home over Christmas, when, with MPs away, immigration officers tried to bundle out of the country a number of (black) Zimbabweans despite the warnings of UNHCR that no one should be returned to Zimbabwe at present, while Mugabe's repression is in full flood, and the threats of the Foreign Office to seek Zimbabwe's expulsion from the Commonwealth because of human rights violations. Only after a vociferous campaign did the government grudgingly agree in January to halt removals to Zimbabwe until after the general election there in March.

The Home Office also tried to remove the outspoken critic of detention Gabriel Nkwelle, despite the fact that fellow Cameroonian activists warned that his activities in the UK were being monitored with interest by the Cameroonian embassy. Nkwelle, who with fellow volunteers from Bail for Immigration Detainees had received the annual

Liberty/Justice human rights award on 10 December, was re-detained three days later when his asylum appeal was dismissed. A Christmas eve injunction prevented his removal.

The Home Office argues that there is no risk since all the asylum seekers have had their claims rejected by independent appellate authorities. Too often, however, the immigration adjudicators uncritically adopt Home Office reasoning, dismissing appeals because claimants used false documents to get into Britain, or because they don't believe the harrowing stories they tell, despite objective supporting evidence.

Medical reports confirming injuries consistent with torture are rejected on the basis that they don't conclusively prove torture – or are accepted but appeals are dismissed on the basis that further torture is unlikely. Like Home Office officials, immigration adjudicators become case-hardened and, faced with just too many stories of detention and torture, stop believing them unless the evidence is overwhelming. Because of these flaws in the appeal system, it is not a risk but a certainty that among the rejected asylum seekers are many genuine refugees who find themselves being returned to the country they fled, to face arrest, torture and possible death at the hands of the security forces awaiting their arrival (state airlines have passenger lists of all those flown back from Britain).

The number of refugees at risk of return in this way has increased dramatically with the introduction of the new procedure. Those who are to be served with the appeal decision by immigration officers and immediately detained for removal are those who have no further rights of appeal. They can seek judicial review – if they can talk to their lawyer. But the pay phones are always in use, phonecards run out and the detainee has no money for replacements, incoming calls are sometimes not accepted or messages from lawyers reach detainees hours or even days later. Legal visits often need to be booked days in advance. The risk of removal before the person concerned has had a chance to contact his or her lawyer multiplies when he or she is detained.

Snatch squads

The number of people actually removed after losing their asylum appeals is still too low for the government. Hence the setting up of the immigration snatch squads which operate independently of police – indeed they should now be seen as the immigration police – in making arrests, searching detainees and their homes, seizing documents, fingerprinting – with the power to use force in performing any of these activities. Obstruction of an immigration officer in the exercise of these functions is a criminal offence.

The snatch squads were introduced when police made it clear that they no longer wanted to play any part in the detention and removal of failed asylum seekers. Senior police officers expressed concern about the impact on community relations of more deaths of asylum seekers in custody – which they predicted as an inevitable result of a crackdown. Since the introduction of the immigration snatch squads there is evidence that more force is being used in detaining people for removal. There is also anecdotal evidence that rejected asylum seekers are in some cases being sedated for removal, to prevent them from struggling. Unlawful sedation has previously taken place in Germany (where it led to the death of Kola Bankole in 1994) and in Spain (where it was used in 1996 in the course of a mass deportation of 103 asylum seekers from Malaga to countries in Africa which had been paid to take the deportees). Resort to such measures is not surprising in the context of a 'master plan' to effect 30,000 removals in the course of a year, a target two-and-a-half times higher than the numbers removed last year. If the overriding priority is to get people out of the country, there is bound to be less concern as to how it is done, and cutting a few corners will not raise eyebrows unless it is fatal, or otherwise comes to public attention.

Recipe for disaster

Joy Gardner was killed by a deportation squad in August 1993 after they came to deport her on a Sunday morning, without any advance warning to her or her solicitor that her request to be allowed to stay had been turned down. She struggled, they restrained her with handcuffs and shackles and thirteen feet of tape which was wound round her face, asphyxiating her.

There have been more deaths by deportation in European countries: Kola Bankole died after being cuffed and sedated during removal from Frankfurt in 1994; Semira Adamu was suffocated to death by Belgian officials in September 1998; Khaled Abuzarifeh, a 27-year-old Palestinian, died of 'positional asphyxia' during deportation from Switzerland in March 1999;

Deaths in Britain during attempted or feared deportation

01.08.93 Joy Gardner (40)

Died after being arrested by specialist officers from the Extradition Unit SO1(3) of the Met, who gagged her with 13 feet of tape.

27.03.94 Kwanele Siziba (27)

Fell 150 feet to her death attempting to flee what she believed were immigration officials.

23.10.94 Joseph Nnalue (31)

As police and immigration officials called at the flat in Stockwell, Joseph, who had escaped to the balcony, died after falling to the ground.

15.03.96 Noorjahan Begum (35)

Died after falling from the balcony of the flat where she was staying; two immigration officers were at the flat at the time.

10.01.97 Herbert Gabbidon (68)

Died in the custody of Walsall police who were deporting him to Jamaica.

25.11.01 Joseph Crensil

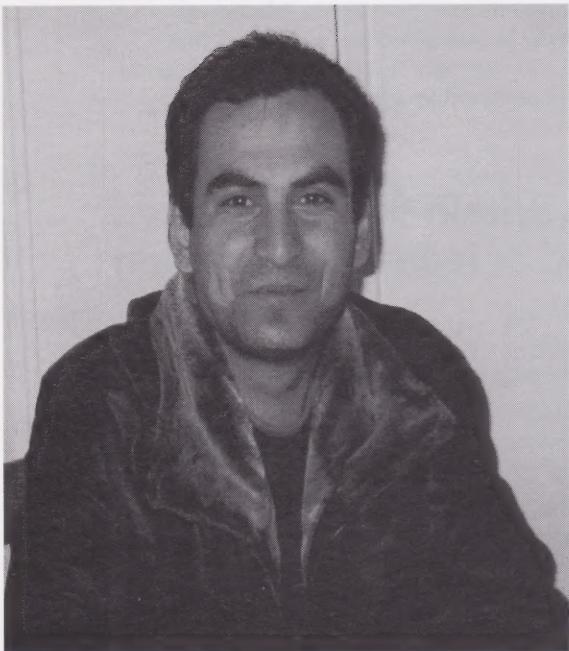
Died falling from third floor fleeing immigration officers.

The new rule is a recipe for more such deaths – more violent struggles by people overcome by panic, anger and helplessness...more overreaction by detention escort officers

Marcus Omofuma was suffocated to death by Austrian officials deporting him in May 1999; Aamir Mohammed Ajeeb died in May 1999 at Frankfurt airport, shackled and with a crash helmet forced on to his head; and on 1 May 2001 Samsun Chukwu, a rejected Nigerian asylum seeker, died of 'positional asphyxia' during an attempted expulsion from Switzerland. The new rule is a recipe for more such deaths – more violent struggles by people overcome by panic and anger at the decision, and at their helplessness in the face of detention and impending removal; more overreaction by poorly trained and badly paid detention escort officers.

As well as the deportation deaths caused by violent restraint of struggling and panicking detainees, there have been deaths of people in flight from immigration officials coming to take them away, and suicides by people detained for removal. In November 2001, asylum seeker Joseph Crensil fell to his death in Streatham, London, fleeing from immigration officers who were coming to take him away. Joseph Nnalue, Kwanele Siziba and Noorjahan Begum are three others who have died in this manner in the past few years. The new rule makes it a certainty that there will be many more. ■

Murder of refugee – not racist?



Firsat Dag

On 4 August, Firsat and a friend, 16-year-old Erkan Ayyildiz, visited a Turkish restaurant in Glasgow. Just before midnight, on their way home, they were confronted by two men on a footbridge. Erkan told the court that their attackers shouted and then chased after them. Firsat died from a single stab wound.

Burrell, picked out by Erkan at an identity parade, pleaded not guilty to the charge of racially aggravated murder of Firsat, and to additional charges of attempted murder of a German tourist and racially motivated assault on Iranian Barzan Amini. Martin Gould, 25, was also charged with Firsat's racially aggravated murder, and 29-year-old Graham Mills with racially aggravated assault of Barzan. Burrell attempted to shift the blame for the murder to his co-accused by lodging a special defence of incrimination – a tactic which led to the murderers of Surjit Chhokar walking free (see CARF 59) – and Mills lodged a special defence of self-defence to the racist assault on Barzan.

Martin Gould testified that he and Burrell had spent the day drinking – eight cans of beer and bottles of cider. They saw the two refugees crossing the footbridge and launched their attack. After chasing Firsat and Erkan, Burrell told him, 'I've just stabbed that guy'. The two men had then gone into Glasgow city centre 'to rob someone', and had attacked German tourist Stephan Herold, punching and kicking him to the ground. His facial wounds have left him permanently disfigured.

Half-way through the trial, the allegation that the murder was racially motivated was withdrawn by the

In December, 26-year-old Scott Burrell was found guilty and jailed for life for the murder of 25-year-old Firsat Dag in August 2001.

Firsat had fled Turkey just weeks before he was murdered. After being arrested in Istanbul for taking part in a pro-Kurdish demo, and fearing for his life and the safety of his family, he sought refuge in the UK. He first stayed with a friend before being given accommodation on the notorious Sighthill estate in Glasgow (see CARF 63 and 64).



Scott Burrell

prosecution on the grounds of insufficient evidence. The decision is hard to comprehend, considering the evidence of Erkan, who said the men had shouted 'Fucking coming here!' and Gould's explanation that he knew the men were not Scottish or British because of the 'colour of their skin'. The charge of racially motivated assault on Barzan Amini was also withdrawn.

Gould, who admitted charges of assault and attempted robbery on Stephan Herold, was sentenced to 250 hours community service. The lenient sentence has caused concern in the light of Gould's family connections – his grandfather, Robert Gould, is former leader of Strathclyde Regional Council and a current Glasgow city councillor.

Burrell was sentenced to eight years for the attempted murder of Stephan Herold, to run concurrently with the life sentence for Firsat's murder. The judge, Lord Kingarth, recommended that he serve at least 14 years for the 'shameful and cowardly and totally unprovoked attack' but rejected any racial motivation to the murder.

Adrian Lui, Project Co-ordinator at Positive Action in Housing, said after the verdict 'The perception is that racism has vanished because media coverage has decreased, or that racism stopped after increased sensitivity following Firsat Dag's murder. Nearly 50 percent of our clients cite racial harassment as their primary problem and this ranges from name-calling and stone throwing, to physical attack.'

'They were shouting. They ran after us. Firsat stopped and I stopped as well. One came close to Firsat, face to face and he said "who are you?" I didn't see anything in his hand I thought it was a punch. Firsat went backwards I told him let's run. We ran together. They came after us. They were shouting "Fucking coming here!" Firsat was hobbling, then he said, "Oh my God. I've been stabbed". I didn't believe it, but then I saw there was blood. It was on his hands and his clothes. He was holding his hand up and he was bleeding. He was trying to move. He was saying he was in great pain, very great pain. There was blood on the ground.'

Evidence of 16-year-old Erkan Ayyildiz

'That guy ran away from Turkey to live safe here because of his beliefs.'

Peri Ibrahim, a friend of Firsat

'I trust in justice. He was killed once. Hopefully he will not be killed twice in terms of justice.'

Mazhar Dag, Firsat's uncle

REVIEWS

Reaching out to refugee children

The Child Psychotherapy Trust works with families and children referred by the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture. This slim booklet provides an

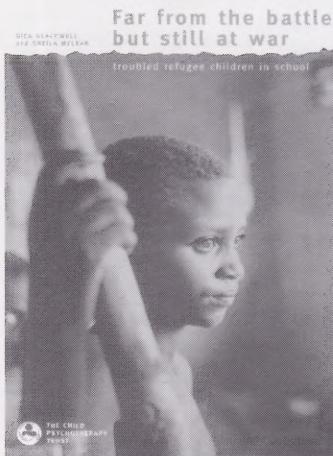
invaluable starting point for teachers who may be at the end of their tether coping with the extreme demands of refugee children who have been so traumatised by their experiences that they become withdrawn or aggressive at school. At first glance, the authors' message that teachers should aim to help troubled refugee children be 'unhappy constructively' is hardly reassuring. But teachers' expectations about

traumatised children need to be managed, because when teachers (particularly those who were initially sympathetic) become frustrated, or even angry, about a child's lack of emotional and social progress, then those teachers become yet more adults who walk

away from the problems of a desperate child. Given that understanding of these problems is needed prior to action, much of this sensitively-written booklet is taken up with describing how these children carry the violence they have witnessed and suffered in their home countries inside them, ticking away like a bomb which, in some cases, explodes – probably over some trivial incident.

It is only towards the end of the booklet that the authors give advice. But, when it comes, it is refreshingly simple. There is no place for a false liberalism. We must be just and fair in all our dealings with traumatised refugee children – which means confronting aggressive behaviour at once, because it is a danger to others, while ensuring that troubled refugee children receive the emotional, social and physical protection that they have been denied in the past, but is every child's right. ■

Far from the battle but still at war: troubled refugee children in school by Dick Blackwell and Sheila Melzak. The Child Psychotherapy Trust



Cyberace

Cyberace claims to be a tool for combating rural racism. But what exactly is that? This CD neither explains the concept nor goes into any real depth to illustrate it. The CD appears to be aimed at young people who live in predominantly white areas and who are, for the first time, challenging themselves about the issue of racism. What the CD does provide is a very basic introduction to situations in which young people might be confronted by racism, and a set of key concepts and definitions through which they can work.

To its credit, the CD is easy to navigate and, by placing racialised problems – on a bus, in the classroom, or the playground – (here enacted by

young people in video clips) in a 'cyber-arena' wherein the user has to decide what s/he might do in a particular situation, it has the potential to involve a young person. So it avoids the usual pitfall of preachy, didactic, anti-racism. But it veers towards another. Because of the very simplistic way in which it tackles the subject of racism and the rather patronising attitudes within the supposed role-playing exercises, it ends up as too slick, too slight. Its level and tone would suggest that it should be used with quite young people. The 12-14 year-olds, to which, we are told, this is aimed, would need something politically a bit firmer and certainly a lot more informative. ■

Cyberace available from the Rural Media Company, Sullivan House, 72-80 Widemarsh Street, Hereford HR4 9HG
Tel: 01432 344039 Fax: 04132 270539
Email: info@ruralmedia.co.uk
Web: www.ruralmedia.co.uk

campaigns & reports

Another black death...

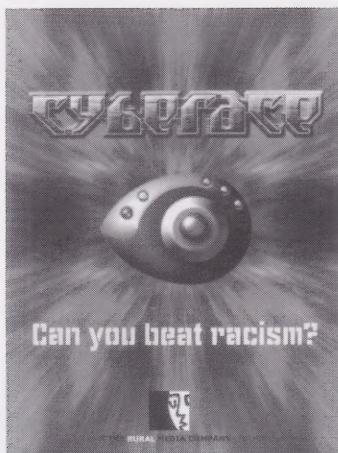
On 2 November 2001, 23-year-old Michelle Allen was found hanged at Barking magistrates' court, east London. Michelle had been out with friends, and was stopped by police and arrested on an outstanding warrant. Later that day she appeared in court and was remanded into custody. She was held in cells awaiting transfer to a prison, when she was found dead. Securicor custodial services, the private company responsible for prisoners at the court, refused to comment on whether Michelle had been classed as a suicide risk or whether her shoelaces had been removed. A post mortem found that her death had been caused by 'suspension'. The inquest was adjourned until later this year.

This is the second black death in Securicor custody. On 29 January 1997, Peter Austin, 30, was found hanging in Brentford magistrates' court cell. The inquest recorded a unanimous verdict of accidental death contributed to by lack of care after hearing that Peter, who was clearly mentally ill, was left hanging for over ten minutes because Securicor guards thought he was feigning. ■

Death in Brixton



As reported in the last issue of CARF, 25-year-old Ricky Bishop died in the custody of Brixton police on 22 November 2001. Ricky was taken to Brixton police station to be searched after officers stopped a car being driven erratically (not by Ricky). Once at the station, he was arrested by officers who believed he was in possession of drugs. Police claim that during the search, Ricky became agitated and had to be restrained. The officers suspected he had swallowed drugs and called an ambulance. He was taken to Kings College hospital, where he later died. The Metropolitan Police Authority called for the suspension of the two officers involved after concerns that the officers failed to follow correct procedures during the restraint. ■



diary of race and resistance

DEC 2001 – JAN 2002

RACISM

19 NOV Muslim family of four abandon family home and business in Hull after it is set alight and destroyed

27 NOV Save the Children research in Scotland finds that fewer than one in five traveller children receive secondary education because of racist abuse

4 DEC Unnamed 27-year-old arrested on suspicion of killing Stephen Lawrence in 1993

5 DEC 26-year-old Neil Acourt and 25-year-old David Norris appear in court charged with racially aggravated harassment of an off-duty black police officer

14 DEC *Scott Burrell found guilty of murdering Firdas Dag in August 2001, but judge says murder not racially motivated* ■ *16-year-old Stephen Hansen, murderer of Shibli Rahman, sentenced to life; two others convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to nine years* ■ *Racist attackers of Sarfraz and Shazad Najeib sentenced*

20 DEC Bradford Council aims to end segregation in schools by 2003

4 JAN Report by Islamic Human Rights Commission reveals 400 racist attacks on UK Muslims since September 11

8 JAN Research by Joseph Rowntree Foundation finds black girls four times more likely to be excluded from school than white counterparts

15 JAN Police patrol school after fighting between Asian and white gangs erupts at Moorhead High in Accrington, Lancashire

IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM

22 NOV Five refugees need hospital treatment for smoke inhalation after fire at Campsfield House detention centre

24 NOV Blunkett launches feasibility study of ID cards

5 DEC Judge rules fines on road hauliers carrying stowaways unlawful

11 DEC Home secretary David Blunkett announces proposals for oath of allegiance for new immigrants

15 DEC Stacey Thornton, third director of NASS in one year, quits job

16 DEC Gerald Muketiwa, deported from UK to Zimbabwe, arrested and imprisoned on arrival at Harare airport ■ *Mail on Sunday* reveals six-month trial at Heathrow of video camera to identify people by scanning their eye

20 DEC *9-year-old Chijioke Ekengwu dies in Nigeria a day before the issue of a visa allowing him to travel to the UK for vital treatment, despite application being approved in October* ■ Palestinian asylum seeker Mustafa Thiab wins right to challenge NASS refusal to transfer his family from

Sighthill estate, Glasgow because they feared for their safety

21 DEC Moroccan Djamel Ajouau refused bail at special hearing after being arrested under new Anti-Terrorism act on ground that he poses threat to national security

24 DEC Lawyers acting for human rights activist and rejected asylum seeker Gabrielle Nkwellie stop his deportation 90 minutes before flight to Cameroon

28 DEC French judge jails four refugees for four months for attempted break-in into Channel Tunnel on Christmas Day

15 JAN Asylum seeker deported to Zimbabwe evades government agents waiting to arrest him at Harare airport by hiding in toilets

16 JAN *Express on Sunday* reveals Eurotunnel plan to erect electric fence capable of giving 8,500 volt shock, used on Gaza strip, around Channel tunnel

17 JAN Home Office winds up £213,000 scheme to discourage Sangatte refugees from seeking asylum in UK by showing an 'educational' video, after only 17 people choose to go home

18 JAN *Blunkett announces change, enabling failed asylum seekers to be detained immediately for removal*

10 JAN Eurotunnel lodges writ at French Administrative Court, Lille to prevent Red Cross housing refugees at Sangatte site

11 JAN British Airways refuses to carry deportee to Zimbabwe, invoking its right to refuse on 'reasonable grounds'

14 JAN Iraqi stowaway, being deported back to France, jumps into Dover harbour after he is found on a SeaFrance ferry as it docks

15 JAN High court rejects application for judicial review of case from Albanian family who had been brutalised in Kosovo ■ Blunkett announces temporary stay on removal of Zimbabwean asylum seekers until after general election in Zimbabwe ■ Blunkett proposes Canadian 'buddy' scheme for UK asylum seekers

16 JAN *Police raid Muslim homes in Leicester and arrest eight men under anti-terrorist legislation and four others for immigration offences*

17 JAN Yarls Wood detention centre opens for business ■ British Anti-Trafficking Organisation opens shelter for women and girls forced into prostitution in Streeton Grandison, Herefordshire

18 JAN Police arrest four more Leicester Muslims under the Immigration Act

19 JAN Kurdish refugee dies after being electrocuted attempting to board train bound for UK in France

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

23 NOV 19-year-old Shazad Ashraf sentenced to five years in young offenders' institute for throwing missiles at police during Bradford riots

27 NOV Bedfordshire constabulary becomes first force to introduce baton gun which fires plastic rounds, in continuing introduction of 'less lethal' weapons

29 NOV 40-year-old Paul Davies found guilty of racially aggravated harassment, banned from football matches for three years and fined £750 for making Nazi salutes at Spurs match

11 DEC Cante report into Bradford, Burnley and Oldham riots published with 70 recommendations

13 DEC CPS refuses to prosecute police officers who shot dead Harry Stanley in Hackney, citing insufficient evidence

17 DEC Prison service reveals dismissal of two Parc Prison officers in July, after they told a prisoner his family had died in a fire as a joke

28 DEC Telford police launch poster campaign to find new information concerning suspicious death of Jason McGowan in 2000

1 JAN Liberty given permission for judicial review application on behalf of six Czech Roma refused entry to UK by British immigration officials at Prague airport in July 2001, in challenge to rule which allows officials to discriminate on ethnic grounds

8 JAN Home Office publishes figures on mobile phone thefts, including statistics on ethnicity of robbers and blaming black youth for rise in robberies

11 JAN Scotland Yard establishes 500-strong squad of officers to target muggers who have pushed up street crime statistics

20 JAN Met police Commissioner Sir John Stevens denies the Met is 'institutionally racist' in Daily Telegraph interview

25 JAN Satpal Ram 'celebrates' his 36th birthday, and begins 16th year in prison

FASCISM

22 NOV BNP fails to win seats in Burnley by-election

23 NOV Judge rules 77-year-old Colin Jordan, former leader of British Movement, unfit to stand trial on charges of publishing/distributing material intended to stir up racial hatred

29 DEC NF reveals HQ moving from London to Hinckley, Leicestershire because of membership 'surge'

12 JAN Police allow NF supporters to march through Bromley, south London

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